IRAN

Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies

VOLUME VIII 1970

CONTENTS

Published annually by

THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF PERSIAN STUDIES

c/o The British Academy, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, W1V ONS

Price: £5 0s. 0d.

ILETMISH OR ILTUTMISH? A RECONSIDERATION OF THE NAME OF THE DEHLI SULTAN

By Simon Digby

In the history of Muslim India, the knowledge of any dialect of Turkish has been confined to small groups and has not greatly flourished for any length of time.[1] The names of the slave Sulṭāns of Dehli of the early thirteenth century necessarily appear exotic. Whilst those of other Sulṭāns, of Aybak and Balban, are sufficiently simple to have been preserved correctly, the cumbrous Arabic spelling of the personal name of the second independent Sulṭān, Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish or Iletmish (607–33/1211–36) has given rise to doubt as to its correct form and meaning. In this name the medial dotted letters have been peculiarly liable to scribal corruption or to compression through the exigencies of monumental or numismatic layout.

The form of the name common in the historiographical tradition of the seventeenth century and later was التمش. We know from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English transliterations that this was pronounced then—as it is today upon the lips of old-fashioned Indian Muslims who refer to the monuments attributed to this Sulṭān—as *Altamish* or *Altamash*, with a tendency to swallow the

[1] Evidence of Turkish as a spoken language in the Dehli Sultanate is scanty, in spite of the pride of descent which distinguished the great Turkī slaves of the early thirteenth century, among them Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish himself (see Jūzjāni, *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, ed. W. Nassau Lees [Calcutta 1864], p. 165). Probably the only literary remains in Turkish from the early Dehli Sultanate are the macaronic *baits* in Turkish and Persian in the first part of the genealogical work of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir (see *Ta'rīkh-i-Fakhru'ddīn Mubārakshāh*, ed. Sir E. Denison Ross [London 1927], p. 46). The poet Amīr Khusrau, writing in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, refers to the speaking of Turkish by immigrants to the Sultanate, by this time mostly free Turks passing out from territories controlled by the Mongol confederacy; he also alludes to the many Tāzīks " who have learnt Turkish with industry and erudition in India " (*Dībācha-i-Ghurrat al-Kamāl*, British Museum Add. 21,104, folio 155, tr. M. Borah in *BSOS* VII [1933], p. 326). Elsewhere Khusrau has some interesting remarks on the development and use of Turkish (*Nuh Sipihr*, ed. M. Wahid Mirza [Calcutta 1948], pp. 176, 178, 179):

(p. 176)

وز پس آن ترکی ترکان اتز　قنقلی و اویغر و ایرتی و غز
خاسته از عرصهٔ خفچاق و یمك　پس همه جا رفته چو از هند نمك

(p. 178)

شهرت ترکی هم از آن شد بیقین　کاغلب شه ترك برآمد بر زمین
شد سخنش خاصگیان را چو ز بر　عامه گرفت و بجهان گشت سمر

(p. 179)

الغرض از پارسی و ترکی و عرب　بیهده باشد که کنم دل بطرب
من چو ز هندم بوَد آن به که کسی　از محل خویش برآرد نفسی

The considerable Turkish lexical element in the Persian of the Dehli Sultanate still awaits study. Mention should be made of the dictionary of Shaykh Muḥammad b. Lād Dihlavī, *Mu'ayyid al-Fużalā* (lithographed, 2 vols. [Kānpūr, Naval Kishor 1883, reprinted 1899]; see also Blochmann, " Contributions to Persian Lexicography ", *JASB* XXXVII [1868], pp. 1–72). This dictionary, composed in 925/1519 before the Mughal invasion brought fresh groups of Turkish-speaking immigrants into Northern India, has Turkish as well as Arabic and Persian sections noticed separately under each letter of the alphabet. This would seem to indicate that a knowledge of Turkish still survived at Dehli long after the destruction of the unified Dehli Sultanate by Amīr Taimūr in 1398 A.D. Baranī, writing in Dehli in the middle of the fourteenth century, laments the disappearance from the market of great Turkish royal slaves (*Ta'rīkh-i-Fērōzshāhī*, ed. S. A. Khan [Calcutta 1862], p. 314); while the term *umarā'-i atrāk*, referring to the royal slave household, was evidently applied in the late fourteenth century to the slaves mainly of Eastern Indian provenance, commonly known in urban Dehli as " the Hindōstānīs " (cf. Muḥammed Bihāmad-Khānī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, British Museum Or. 137, folio 425b and the account of the same incident of the massacre of the royal slaves in Sirhindī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Mubārakshāhī*, ed. Hidayat Hosain [Calcutta 1931], p. 150).

In the Mughal period, Eastern Turki remained a domestic language spoken in the royal family for a considerable time. In Jahāngīr's reign (1605–27) the favour and esteem enjoyed by Captain Hawkins and Sir Thomas Roe were largely the result of their previous knowledge of Ottoman Turkish and their ability to converse in it. In the Mughal royal family a knowledge of Chaghatā'ī Turki remained even in the late eighteenth century (see Aẓfarī, *Wāqi'āt-i-Aẓfarī*, ed. Chandrasekharan *et al.* [Madras 1957], Urdu introduction, pp. i–ii; Storey, *Persian Literature, A Bio-Bibliographical Survey*, p. 643). Apart from the diplomatic contacts between the Turkish and Mughal states, merchants of Ottoman Turkish descent had long-standing connections with the ports of India, notably the great Chelebī family of seventeenth-century Sūrat. The writer hopes to publish shortly an article identifying a type of furniture made in Western India during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the Ottoman Turkish market.

last indecisive vowel.[2] The Turkish term التمش in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Indian usage meant the advance guard of the centre in the order of battle; this was pronounced *altamish.*[3] It may be supposed that the pronunciation of the name of the Sulṭān had by this time been influenced by a false identification with this familiar word.

The memory of a different pronunciation of the Sulṭān's name lingered uncertainly in late sixteenth-century India. The historian 'Abd al-Qādir Badāyūnī, who came from a Hindōstānī environment preserving pre-Mughal traditions, gave a folk-etymology of the name as meaning " born on the night of the eclipse of the moon ".[4] According to the reconstruction proposed by Sir John Redhouse when consulted by Edward Thomas, this should yield in Turkish *Ay-tutulmasi* or *Ay-tutulmish*,[5] forms in themselves unacceptable for the name of the Sulṭān, but strongly suggesting that the form which the etymology sought to explain was *Iltutmish* rather than *Iletmish* or *Altamish.*

Il-tutmish, literally " grasper " or " holder " of the " folk " or " realm ", a name nearly corresponding in sense with the Persian *Jahāngīr*, provided a name which accorded well with the epigraphic and numismatic evidence which had already been marshalled by Edward Thomas in 1870. Three centuries before the Dehli Sulṭān, this name was apparently borne by a Turkish governor of Ray.[6] It was proposed as the reading of the name of the Dehli Sulṭān also by S. Lane Poole in 1884.[7] It gained increasing acceptance among writers on Indo-Muslim history, achieved due consideration in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[i] and passed thence to the Turkish *Islam Ansiklopedisi* in an article written by Fuat Köprülü.

In 1950 Hikmet Bayur, author of a *History of India* in Turkish, in which he had used the form Iletmish, was provoked by a review of his work by Fuat Köprülü to justify this usage. He published a long article citing evidence, whose value is examined in this present article, to prove that the correct form of the name was the one which he had earlier used without explanation.[8] A thick expanse of evidence, if uncontested, tends to gain acceptance regardless of its intrinsic credibility. Accordingly we find Bayur's conclusions communicated by Professor Bernard Lewis to Dr. Peter Hardy, who wrote in the following decade upon the historians of the Dehli Sultanate;[9] whence, by a recognizable process of

[2] Lt.-Col. Alexander Dow, *The History of Hindostan*, 3rd edn. (London 1792), vol. I, pp. 185–92: " Altumish ". Sir H. Elliott and C. Dowson, *The History of India as Told by Its Own Historians*, 8 vols. (London 1865–78), see index to vol. VIII: " Shamsu-d din Altamsh "; it is difficult to believe that Sir Henry Elliott did not take the opinion of his Munshīs and such learned Muslim acquaintances as Navvāb Żiyā' al-Dīn of Lohārū. M. Elphinstone, *History of India*, 1st edn. (1938), 5th edn., pp. 371–5, has " Altamish ". Edward Thomas uses " Altamish " in his heading, see below.

[3] W. Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Mughals* (London 1903; photo-reprint Dehli 1964), pp. 224, 226. Irvine spells *Iltmish*, citing Pavet de Courteille's *Dictionnaire turc-orientale* (Paris 1871), p. 31; the latter, however, only gives the unvocalized التمش, " soixante ". Irvine also notes the form يلتمش in the eighteenth-century historian Khāfī Khān (*Muntakhab al-Lubāb*, ed. K. Aḥmad [Calcutta 1860–74], vol. II, p. 876) which, however, is likely to indicate only a common vagary of Dakhnī pronunciation. For the customary Indian pronunciation, see Muḥammad Pādishāh, *Farhang-i-Ānand Rāj*, repr. (Teheran 1335 Shamsī), vol. I, p. 401: *bi'l-fatḥ wa tā'ī fawqānī wa kasr-i-mīm wa sukūn-i- shīn-i-mu'jama.*

[4] 'Abd al-Qādir Badāyūnī, *Muntakhab al-tavārīkh*, ed. A. 'Alī *et al.* (1864–69), vol. I, p. 62; English tr. by G. Ranking (1898), vol. I, pp. 88–9.

[5] E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, revised edn. (London 1870), p. 44, n. 1.

[6] E. de Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam* (Hanover 1927), p. 44. A portion of Bayur's argument is to the effect that Iltutmish must be a royal title, not a personal name, while the name borne by the Sulṭān is clearly a personal one, not a title; and that *Iletmish*, in the sense of " kidnapped ", is more suitable for a Turkish slave. However, names with royal or conquering associations used as personal names are not unknown in the Islamic world, both in the past and today. In view of the story given by Jūzjānī of the childhood of the Sulṭān, which is that " like Joseph " (*Yūsufvār*) he was sold into captivity by jealous brethren, the name Iletmish does not appear especially appropriate. If Iltutmish was not in fact a personal name bestowed, without particular significance being attached to its royal connotations, in childhood, it may well have been considered suitable for Shams al-Dīn in his very promising youth, when, according to Jūzjānī, a slave merchant asked such a price for him in Ghaznīn that Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām did not purchase him and forbade any other buyer to do so; after which, his general in Hindōstān, Quṭb al-Dīn Aybak, had to seek a dispensation permitting him to purchase him at Dehli (Jūzjānī, op. cit., pp. 165, 167–8).

[7] S. Lane Poole, *The Coins of the Sultans of Dehli in the British Museum* (London 1884), p. xxix. Lane Poole also mentions the conjecture of Aḥmad Wafīq Pasha, communicated to him by Sir John Redhouse, that the name might be read ايلتيمش (*sic*), meaning " the kidnapped ", or " the slave who was carried off ". This appears to be the historical origin of Hikmet Bayur's reading.

[8] Hikmet Bayur, " Sultan Iletmiş'in adī hakkīnda ", *Türk Tarih Kurumu Belleten* XIV (1950), pp. 567–88.

[9] P. Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*, 1st impression (London 1960), preface, p. v: " Failure to examine this article in time has made inevitable the adoption in this monograph of the conventional but incorrect form." In the 2nd impression (1967) the whole " Postscriptum " has been omitted.

cultural diffusion, the form has entered into subsequent works on Indo-Muslim history[10] and has attained consecration in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*² (s.v. Dihlī). The lack of accessibility of articles in modern post-Ottoman Turkish to historians of Muslim India appears to have prevented any detailed consideration of Bayur's arguments of the type here attempted.[11]

We may first state some considerations of spelling and palaeography which bear upon the argument. The first vowel of the name is of indeterminate quantity. The forms ایلتتمش and التتمش, or ایلتمش and التمش, are interchangeable, the close unrounded Turkish *i* being written either way, and considered either a long or a short vowel in Persian according to prosodic expediency. Beyond this permissible variation, we should also note the general tendency, both in transcription and in monumental and numismatic epigraphy, towards the omission of letters and the shortening of words rather than towards the introduction of superfluous letters. The abrasion of ایلتتمش and التتمش to التمش is not surprising; but the sporadic appearance of ایلتتمش, التتمش both in epigraphs and manuscripts (the latter often copied some centuries later), supposedly corrupted from a correct form التمش—together with the fact that the intrusive letter is invariably a reduplication of the *tā*—is surely an improbable process.

Bayur cites three types of evidence for his contention that the correct name is *Iletmish*: the readings of the name found in manuscripts or editions of historical texts; monumental epigraphs; and coin-legends. Much of his argument is repetitive and cannot be answered in such prolix detail here.

I. *Readings Cited from Manuscripts and Printed Texts*

As may be expected from our sketch of the historiography of the name, the form التمش is extremely common in subsequent manuscripts of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century general histories of India, notably those of Badāyūnī, Niẓām al-Dīn Aḥmad and Farishta. From the etymology of the name cited above it would seem that at least one of these late historians, Badāyūnī, did not intend to spell the name in this manner, though it is so spelt in surviving manuscripts of his work. Bayur's evidence of near contemporary sources is of greater interest.

(1) The *Tāj al-ma'āthir* of Ḥasan Niẓāmī. For this Bayur relies on the abstract in English in Elliott and Dowson, which several times has *Altamsh*.[12] This must, he argues, represent التمش in the manuscript used by Sir Henry Elliott, not now accessible. However, in available manuscripts of this prolix and ornate work, which is as yet unedited, the personal name of the Sulṭān only occurs once, in the notice of his succession. In the British Museum manuscript (Add. 7623), transcribed in 711 A.H. less than a century after the death of the Sulṭān, the name appears (on folio 88a) in the form التتمش. There are two "teeth" between *lām* and *mīm*: the first bears two dots, placed one above the other, while the second is undotted, as is also the *yā* following the *alif*. According to Barthold, the St. Petersburg manuscript of the same work, transcribed in 829 A.H., reads ایلتتمس.[13]

(2) The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* of Jūzjānī. Besides the nineteenth-century printed edition from Calcutta,[14] Bayur has consulted a manuscript of unspecified age in a library in Istanbul. Like the printed edition it reads التمش in the places where the name is mentioned; but it also bears careful marginal corrections, التتمش, which he rejects. The oldest manuscript accessible to myself, British Museum Add. 26,189, assigned by Rieu on satisfactory palaeographical grounds to the fourteenth century,[15] reads on folio 1a التتمش (with two dots over the second "tooth"), on folio 176a again التتمش, and on folio 179b السمش (unpointed); on folio 175b where it appears in the illuminated heading announcing the beginning of the reign, it is clearly written التتمش. The gilding of this heading is certainly contemporary, and the formality of the occasion is an adequate reason for properly pointing the name.

[10] Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment* (Oxford 1964), p. 6 [and now in the same author's *An Intellectual History of Islam in India* (Edinburgh 1969), passim—Editor]. The suggestion does not seem to have attracted the attention of other writers on the Dehli Sultanate, who continue to write *Iltutmish*. See K. A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Politics and Religion in India During the Thirteenth Century* (Asia Publishing House 1961), and *Studies in Medieval Indian History and Culture* (Allahabad 1966); Asit K. Sen, *People and Politics in Early Medieval India (1206–1598)* (Calcutta 1963); M. A. Chughtai, *Painting During the Sultanate Period* (Lahore 1963).

[11] The writer wishes to express his thanks to Dr. Turhan Gandjeï, without whose unstinted help in translating and discussing Hikmet Bayur's article the present paper could never have been written.

[12] Elliott and Dowson, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 237 ff.

[13] W. Barthold, "Iltutmyš", *ZDMG* LXI (1907), pp. 192–3.

[14] Jūzjānī, op. cit.

[15] Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, vol. I, pp. 71–2.

The readings on folios 176a and 179b are those in the texts of two *qaṣīdas* in praise of the Sulṭān reproduced by Jūzjānī. Sir E. Denison Ross drew attention to these verses, pointing out that the scansion required Iltutmish (– – ᴗ) rather than Iletmish (ᴗ – ᴗ).[16] Bayur rightly observes that Īletmish (– – ᴗ) will serve as well: but this would surely require a spelling within the *qaṣīdas* of ایلتمش, and he has failed to provide variant manuscripts with this reading.

(3) The *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* of ʿAufī. Bayur cites the evidence of a manuscript in Istanbul, again of unspecified age, which reads ایلتمش. M. Niẓāmu'd-dīn, who had examined a great number of the existing manuscripts of the work, refers consistently to Iltutmish,[17] but unfortunately no text edited by him has yet appeared. M. Muʿīn's edition of the opening anecdotes, with the preamble and dedication to this Sulṭān, is based upon three manuscripts of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries and one of the sixteenth. The name is there printed ایلتُتمش, a reading evidently of two manuscripts, one that of 717 A.H.; ایلتتمش without vocalization is noted as the reading of the two other manuscripts consulted.[18]

(4) The *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa' l-shujāʿa* or *Ādāb al-mulūk* of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir. Bayur attaches considerable importance to the reading in the India Office manuscript of this work, even though palaeographically it should be assigned to the sixteenth or seventeenth century.[19] The dedication to the Sulṭān, which Bayur reproduces on fig. 2 of his article, reads ایلتمش. However, in the British Museum manuscript of this work (Add. 16,853), which is possibly sixteenth century,[20] on folio 9b the name appears as التتمش (*yā* undotted).

Finally we may examine other near-contemporary works in the historical tradition of the Dehli Sultanate. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's " Sulṭān Lalmish " is of no help to us, except as an indication of the difficulty of recalling a strange name after a lapse of years.[21] Żiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, whose *Ta'rīkh-i-Fērōzshāhī* often recalls the practices of the reign of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn—no less than thirty-seven times in his account of the first two reigns of his chronicle—omits the personal name except possibly on one occasion. There it is given in some manuscripts as التمش; but its omission here also in other manuscripts makes it probable that this is a copyist's interpolation.[22]

The most important addition to the corpus of historians of the Dehli Sultanate since the nineteenth century labours of Elliott and Dowson is the *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn* of ʿIṣāmī. This is a geste of the Muslim rulers of India in *mutaqārib* metre modelled upon the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī. It was composed in 750 and 751 A.H. (1349–50 A.D.) at the court of the seceding Sulṭān of the Deccan, ʿAlā' al-Dīn Ḥasan Bahmanshāh. As is abundantly clear from his narrative, ʿIṣāmī was a descendant of the Dehli nobility of the previous century. His grandfather was a *sipah-sālār* of Sulṭān Balban (1265–85 A.D.). His poem

[16] Sir E. Denison Ross in *BSOS* VII (1932), p. 1101. Since writing the body of this paper the republished edition of Jūzjānī's *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Kabul 1342–43 Shamsī/1963–64, 2 vols.) has become accessible to the writer. Ḥabībī in his *taʿlīqāt* has two long notes (nos. 49 and 79, vol. II, pp. 376–8, 417–8) on the form of the name concluding that " in the period men of learning used to read (*mēkhvānda and*) the name with two *tās*, but other spellings of it were also common ". Most of Ḥabībī's note no. 49 is taken up with the same metrical argument as that advanced by Sir E. Denison Ross. Ḥabībī quotes the same *qaṣīdas* from Jūzjānī's text, and also applies the argument to a *bayt* with the name in a *qaṣida* of Tāj al-Dīn " Sangrēza " and to occurrences of the name in the *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn* (for which see below). Bayur's objections to this metrical argument are partially valid. The objection to Bayur's own arguments *against* التتمش is that the form ایلتمش which would have to replace it is not found in manuscript readings at these places. Only after this is validity restored to the arguments of Ross and Ḥabībī regarding the prosodic necessity of التتمش. Ḥabībī also cites information or opinions generally in favour of Iltutmish from Lane Poole, Zambaur, Hodivala and others. Bayur's article does not appear to have reached him; this could be expected from the account in his introduction of the difficulties he experienced in obtaining less recondite works.

In Ḥabībī's text the preferred reading is التتمش. But the text was edited from a single manuscript of unspecified age available in Qandahār, collated with the Calcutta edition and the variants noted by Raverty in his translation (see Ḥabībī's introduction, op. cit., vol. I, pp. 2–3). In the portions of Juzjānī published for the first time in the original by Ḥabībī there are references to a contemporary namesake of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish, a prince and military adventurer of Sīstān who actually came to Hindōstān, the Malik Fērōz or Malik-i Nīmrōz Iltutmish (see op. cit., vol. I, pp. 283, 299).

[17] M. Niẓāmu'd-dīn, *Introduction to the Jawāmiʿu'l-Ḥikāyāt* (London 1929), passim.

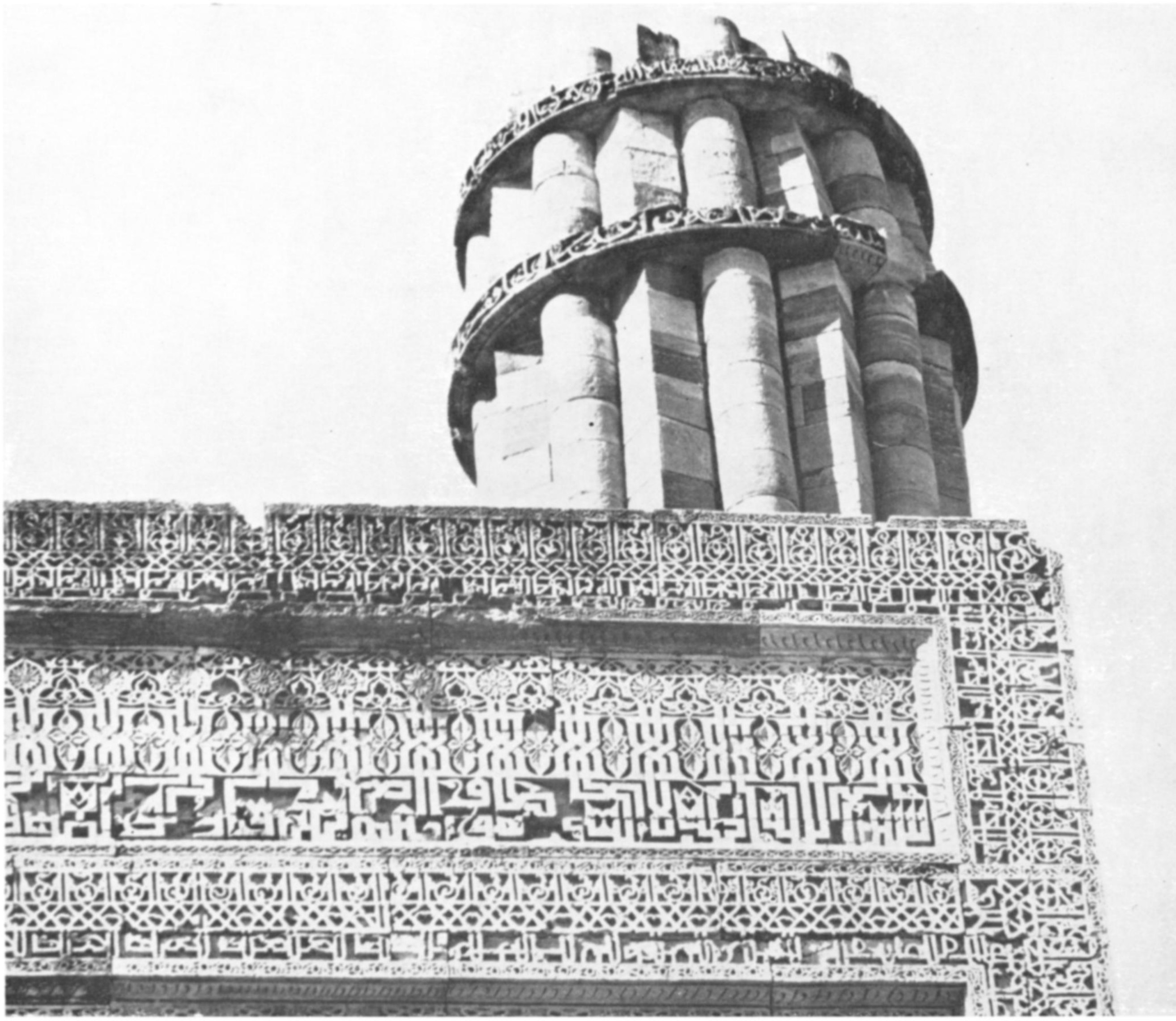
[18] ʿAufī, *Javāmiʿ al-ḥikāyāt* pt. 1, ed. M. Muʿīn, Intishārāt-i-Dānishgāh (Tehran 1335 Shamsī), p. 5. For details of manuscripts used, see introduction, pp. 50–1, 62–8.

[19] India Office Manuscript 647, Ethé, p. 1493, no. 1767. Ethé gives no opinion as to the date of this manuscript.

[20] Rieu, *Catalogue*, vol. II, pp. 487–8, who also assigns it to the sixteenth century.

[21] Ibn Baṭṭuṭa, *Voyages*, eds. C. Defrémery and B. Sanguinetti (Paris 1855), vol. III, pp. 154, 164.

[22] Baranī, *Ta'rīkh-i-Fērōzshāhī*, vol. I, ed. Shaikh ʿAbd al-Rashīd (ʿAligarh 1957), references as in indices s.v. (Sulṭān) Shams al-Dīn. The solitary and suspect reference is on p. 25. The editor does not indicate which manuscripts he is using.



Pl. Ia. **Aṟhā'ı din kā jhompṟā,** ***Ajmer. The northern minaret from the courtyard of the mosque.***



Pl. Ib. The name of the Sulṭān, Īltutmish, *in the inscription on the northern minaret, north side.*



Pl. IIa. Silver ṯankā *with Kūfic script Arabic legend.* Al-sulṭān/al-mu'aẓẓam shams/al-dunyā wa'l-dīn/[abu'l-]muẓaffar Iltutmish/as-sulṭānı yamīn khalīfat/allāh nāṣir [amīr]/[al-mu'minīn]. *Reverse.* (*After H. N. Wright.*)



Pl. IIb. Billon coin with Nāgarī script legend dated V.S. 1283 and 624 A.H. [Sr]ī sultā[n]/Lititimi/-si sam(vata) 1283. *Reverse.* (*After H. N. Wright.*)

conserves a valuable mass of oral tradition supplementing the surviving prose chronicles of the Dehli Sultanate. The *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn* has been twice published, once in a lithograph based upon the India Office manuscript alone by A. Mahdi Hussain (Agra 1938) and once by A. S. Usha (University of Madras 1948), who also made use of a second known manuscript in a private collection in Ḥaidarābād, Deccan.

It may be observed that the same metrical considerations hold good in the case of this poem as in the two *qaṣīdas* reproduced in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, which have been discussed above. Either ايلتمش or التتمش is required: التمش lacks a necessary heavy first syllable.

Usha throughout prints the name as اِلتتمش. It occurs in the poem no less than sixteen times. The India Office manuscript (Ethé no. 895, India Office 3089) is available for collation; it is written in a fine and fairly careful small *nasta'līq*. It may date from the fifteenth century and is not likely to be later than the sixteenth.[23] In one instance here the personal name is omitted in a shorter version of the rubric than that given by Usha, evidently from the Ḥaidarābād manuscript, although he does not note the variant (India Office manuscript, folio 82b; corresponding to Usha, p. 130). In two instances the name is spelt in rubrics التمش (folios 80b and 89b; corresponding to Usha, pp. 126 and 143). In the remaining thirteen instances, including every occasion where the name occurs in the verses, it is clearly written and dotted in the manuscript as التتمش (folios 53a, 59b, 64a (bis), 64b, 70b, 71a, 74b (bis), 82a, 82b, 84a, 86a and 90b; corresponding to Usha, pp. 74, 78, 94, 95 (bis), 107 (bis), 114 (bis), 128, 132, 136 and 145). The reading ايلتمش nowhere occurs. The evidence therefore is very strong that in the fourteenth century, in circles descended from the nobility of the earlier Dehli Sultanate, the name was remembered as *Iltutmish*.

II. *Monumental Epigraphs*

Bayur surveys the inscriptions of the reign of Iltutmish as published by Horovitz,[24] from whose article several have been reproduced in the *Répertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arabe*.[25] Bayur reproduces a page from the latter publication, showing that Horovitz has actually read in one place ايلتمش,[26] and also many of the plates of Horovitz's first article. With regard to the page reproduced by Bayur from the *Répertoire* it may be noted that the " (sic) " which follow ايلتمش and السلطان are those of the editor of the publication, not of Horovitz. The plate published by the latter shows two " teeth " between the *lām* and the *mīm* and his translation reads Iltutmish. The omission of the second *tā* in the text of the inscription as printed in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* is quite possibly a misprint. Elsewhere, the readings Īltutmish, Iltutmish, are constantly adopted by Horovitz. Bayur on the one hand complains that the dots of two *tās* are not visible on the inscriptions, and on the other hand explains away the fact that there are two, often sharp " teeth " visible in the inscriptions between the *lām* and the *mīm*, maintaining that the second of these is the beginning of the letter *mīm*. (There is no evidence elsewhere in the inscriptions of the Dehli Sultanate of this epigraphical peculiarity of the letter *mīm*.) Bayur, however, maintains firstly that there are two " teeth " in place of the one visible between the *mīm* and *rā* of *amīr*, and between the two *nūns* of *mu'minīn* in Horovitz's pl. XVIII, his own fig. 13; and secondly that additional " teeth " are also visible in *al-muslimīn* in Horovitz's pl. XXIX, his own fig. 12, and in *iftikhār*, the word preceding this on the same inscription (though he erroneously refers here to Horovitz, pl. XVIII, his own fig. 13). Of these examples, the case of *iftikhār* is doubtful, but from an examination of the original plate what appears to be an additional " tooth " is most probably the reflection in the inked estampage of some damage to the surface at the corner of the inscription. In other cases cited by Bayur, no additional " teeth " are visible to the present writer.

[23] Ethé, p. 559, no. 895, assigns it to " the 10th century of the Hijrah ". The small, vigorous and accurate *nasta'līq* hand makes me incline towards a slightly earlier date.

[24] The main body of the inscriptions of the reign are published by J. Horovitz, " Inscriptions of Muhammad Ibn Sām, Qutbuddīn Aibeg and Iltutmish " in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (Calcutta 1911–12), pp. 12–54 and pls. I–XX, XXIII–XXX, of which pp. 21–34 and pls. XIII, XV–XX, XXV–XXX concern inscriptions of the reign of Iltutmish.

[25] *Répertoire Chronologique d'Epigraphie Arabe*, ed. E. Combe *et al.*, vol. XI, p. 2.

[26] J. Horovitz, " Inscriptions of the Turk Sultans of Dehli " in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (Calcutta 1913–14), p. 21 and pl. VIII: VI. *Inscription on the back wall of a mosque at Gangarampur, Malda* (the inscription is of the reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd).

The most remarkable of Bayur's explanations occurs with regard to the monumental epigraph which conflicts most strongly with his thesis (Horovitz, pl. XXVI; Bayur, fig. 16—a blurred reproduction of an initially unsatisfactory inked estampage). In this inscription the name of the Sulṭān appears unmistakably as التتمش—the two *tās* having visible dots and the *yā* lacking them (see my Pl. Ib). Bayur points out that the inscription is " upside down " and suggests that this is evidence of interference and of restoration during the period of British rule in India. According to Bayur, Horovitz rightly restores the phrase سلطان السلاطين الشرق from the position in which it appears in the illustration, that is, after the name of the Sulṭān, and places it before the name of the Sulṭān, the position in which this title is found in other inscriptions. The inscription is unworthy of credence because it has suffered interference. He does not state plainly that the second *tā* has been added by the conservation department of the Archaeological Survey of India, but if his argument is pursued, it is impossible to resist this inference.

However, Bayur has not realized that Horovitz's pl. XXVI, which is the photograph of cut strips of the inked paper estampage, is not an accurate representation of the physical appearance of this inscription. The inscription runs in a thin band around the whole circumference of the lower of two string-courses upon the northern minaret of the *Aṛhāī din kā jhompṛā* at Ajmer (Pl. Ia).[27] Even in Horovitz's plate the estampage is of poor quality; this is probably the result of the difficulties of making it by leaning out perilously over the top of this minaret.[28] But as it runs around the entire circumference of the minaret, there is no question of the inscription being restored " upside-down " during the conservation of the Archaeological Survey of India, and one may read سلطان السلاطين الشرق before ابو المظفر without emendation. The Archaeological Survey has consolidated the upper platform of the minaret at the height to which it survived by the beginning of this century; and, as may be seen to the right of Pl. Ia, a single carved and inscribed block of this string course which had fallen away has been replaced with an uncarved stone block. There is no evidence whatsoever that the Archaeological Survey recarved, or indeed had the ability to recarve, the name in the inscription.[29]

Legends upon Coinage

Bayur's arguments upon coin-legends follow the same lines as his arguments upon the stone epigraphs. He admits that two " teeth " are often visible between the *lām* and the *mīm*, and then dismisses this as without significance, because nowhere on the coins are two pairs of dots over the two " teeth " visible. This absence of dots upon coins will appear unconvincing evidence to anyone conversant with Muslim numismatics. Muslim coinages derive from the undotted or scantily dotted issues of the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, and it is difficult to find a completely and correctly dotted Muslim coin of a date before the sixteenth century. Bayur puts much emphasis on a small copper coin reproduced by him

[27] Arkai is written incorrectly for *aṛhā'ī* in Bayur. The name means in Hindōstānī " the hut of two and a half days ", a popular name bestowed afterwards on this great congregational mosque of the first Dehli Sulṭāns. The name has been thought to refer to the occupation of the deserted mosque for brief periods (perhaps during the 'Urs of one Panjāba Shāh) by wandering *faqīrs*; while according to another account, the building was erected by spirits in this time. See H. B. Sarda, *Ajmer* (Ajmer 1941), p. 69; and Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period*, 2nd edn. (Bombay n.d.), pp. 12–13. Yet another popular explanation is that, the building being originally a Hindu sacred institution, the conversion into a mosque by Shihāb al-Dīn Ghōrī (Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām) was accomplished in this time. See Munshī Muḥammad Akbar Jahān, *Aḥsan al-siyar*, Mufīd-i-'Āmm Press (Agra 1320/1902–03), p. 88.

[28] In 1963 the writer tried, without success, to photograph the personal name of the Sulṭān by leaning over the top of the minaret. The photograph here published of the name (Pl. Ib) was taken with a telephoto lens from the roof above the northern side arches of the mosque. It was against the light, the sun being directly behind the minaret; in spite of this, the two *tās* remain sufficiently clear. Like the rest of the lettering they are cut in very deep relief.

[29] The value as evidence of Bayur's figs. 8 and 9 also calls for comment. These are reproductions of the lithographed eye-copies made by (Sir) Syed Ahmad Khan and published in the latter's celebrated *tadhkira* of the buildings of Dehli, *Āthār al-ṣanādīd*. They appear to have been reproduced by Bayur (figs. 8 and 9) from the lithographed plates of the 4th edn. (ed. Muhammad Raḥmatu'llāh " Ra'd ", Nāmī Press (Kānpūr 1904), concluding portion, pp. 38, 40). One may incidentally compare the eye-copies on pp. 31, 34 of the same edition where two " teeth " are visible. The *Āthār al-ṣanādīd* and its illustrations were originally published in Dehli in 1847, and Sir Syed was engaged in the preparation of the work in the years immediately preceding this, many years before the conjectures noted earlier in this article had been put forward regarding the correct form of the name. The inscriptions are on the third and fourth storeys of this very high minaret, and Sir Syed's friend and biographer, Mawlānā Alṭāf Ḥusayn " Ḥālī " has vividly described the difficulties which Sir Syed, not the most skilful of draughtsmen, experienced in making these copies seated in a hanging basket (Ḥālī, *Ḥayāt-i-jāvēd*, 2nd edn., Mufīd-i-'Āmm Press [Agra], p. 45).

on a plate taken from an early article of Edward Thomas (Bayur's fig. 5, coin no. 23), on which two large circular dots appear, one above each " tooth " between the *lām* and the *mīm*. However, on this coin-face the name is written in such a way as to omit (upon the die) the tail of the *shīn*; the legend is almost as stylized as that upon some other small copper *'adlīs* reproduced in the same plate, where it is possibly deliberately intended to be readable as either *Iltutmish* or *Shams* (cf. nos. 21 and 22 on Bayur's plate with nos. 14 and 15).

Besides this early article of Edward Thomas, Bayur cites the British Museum and Bodleian coin catalogues,[30] but makes no reference either to Edward Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*[31] or to H. Nelson Wright's definitive work on the coinage of the Dehli Sulṭāns,[32] which, although published fourteen years before Bayur's article, may not have been available in Turkish libraries.

As we have seen, Thomas was the first to discuss the problem of the name of the Sulṭān. Besides quoting the folk-etymology given by Badāyūnī, he drew attention to the Nāgarī coin-legend whose significance we shall examine below.[33] Lane Poole—to whose work Bayur had access—also drew attention to it.[34] H. N. Wright, whose work Bayur did not consult, discussed in detail the variations of the name on the coinage, quoting most earlier contributions to the subject.[35] Wright concludes: " Though no less than four forms of the name appear on the coins, viz. التمش—ايلتمش—التتمش and ايلتتمش,—the last of the four is by far the commoner."

In the coin trays of the British Museum the present writer has examined the silver *ṯankas* bearing the Sulṭān's name (including a posthumous coin issued in the reign of his daughter Sulṭān Rażiyya). The examination yielded the following results:

Nos. 153, 154, 159, 160, 161, 163 and 164 read السمس.

No. 156 reads المس.

Nos. 155, 157, 158 and 162 read ايلسمس.[36]

Attention should perhaps be drawn to the unique silver *ṯanka* published by Edward Thomas after his main work and also reproduced by Wright.[37] The legends are in square kūfic script; this feature sets it apart from any other issue of the reign and indeed of the Sultanate, and demonstrates with peculiar clarity (if such a demonstration be needed) that the second " tooth " is not a part of the *mīm* (Pl. IIa).

There remains the Nāgarī coin-legend (Pl. IIb), discussed by Thomas, Lane-Poole and Wright, but ignored by Bayur (pl. 38).[38] As is quite clear from the reproductions, as well as upon the two specimens in the British Museum collection examined by myself,[39] there are unquestionably two *t*s in the middle of the name: this reads लितितिमिसि *Lititimisi*, and represents a crude North Indian attempt to record the alien sounds. The present writer doubts Wright's opinion that the full legend should read *Ilititimisi*: the initial vowel and consonant have probably suffered metathesis in the vernacular pronunciation.[40] But

[30] S. Lane Poole, op. cit., and the same, *Catalogue of the Mohammedan Coins Preserved in the Bodleian Library of Oxford* (Oxford 1888).

[31] E. Thomas, op. cit.

[32] H. Nelson Wright, *The Sultans of Dehli: Their Coinage and Metrology* (Oxford 1936).

[33] Thomas, op. cit., p. 44.

[34] Lane Poole, *Sultans of Dehli*, loc. cit.

[35] Wright, op. cit., p. 70.

[36] The numbers given are those now to be found on the paper discs upon the trays, corresponding to those of the forthcoming augmented British Museum catalogue.

[37] E. Thomas, " The Initial Coinage of Bengal, Pt. II: Embracing the Preliminary Period Between A.H. 614–34 (A.D. 1217—1236–7) " in *JRAS*, New Series (1873), vol. VI, p. 350, no. 8. Wright, op. cit., p. 17, no. 49K and pl. XXII, then in Berlin; Pl. IIa of this article. The author is most grateful to Miss Janice Cornwell of the photographic staff of the School of Oriental Studies, for enlarging and preparing Pls. IIa and b at very short notice.

[38] Bayur, fig. 5, no. 14, reverse = Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 74, no. 44; Wright, op. cit., p. 30, nos. 121, 122; cf. also 122A.

[39] Lane Poole, op. cit., p. 15, nos. 46, 47, pl. II, which figures these actual specimens.

[40] Wright, op. cit., p. 30, reading the reverse of nos. 121, 122: cf. the actual legend as visible on my own Pl. IIb, Wright's pl. II, also pl. XX. Cf. also such Nāgarī renderings as *amīralimauminān* for *amīru'l-mu'minīn* upon other coins of the reign (Wright, p. 26, nos. 68–72). On Pl. IIb the beginning of the name is not clearly visible. In medieval Indian minting the bolt of the coin was almost invariably smaller than the surface of the die; there is no doubt of the syllable *Li* from other specimens, although these still leave it uncertain whether there was an initial vowel. The Nāgarī inscription of this issue of Iltutmish is recalled in the *Dravya parīksha*, a remarkable treatise in Prakrit verse by Ṯhakkura Pherū, mint-master of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khiljī (625–715/1296–1316) at Dehli, writing in the reign of his son Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak (716–20/1316–20):

> " The coins called *Titimīsī*, *Kuwwakhānī*, *Khalīfatī*, *Adhachandā* and *Sikandarī*, which are all *Samsī* coins, contain 3 *tolās* of silver (per 100 specimens); their rate is 34 per *Ṯanka*."

See V. S. Agarwala (*sic*), " A Unique Treatise on Medieval Indian Coins " in H. K. Shirwani (*sic*), ed., *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume* (Hyderabad 1966), p. 97.

it remains highly improbable that the *ti* syllable should have been mysteriously reduplicated, if the original name was *Iletmish*.[41]

Thus we find that in spite of the length at which Bayur has presented his arguments for a reading which he was possibly originally driven by criticism to defend, a large preponderance of all the types of evidence which he surveys, viz. manuscript readings, monumental inscriptions and coin-legends, in fact support the reading which he was attempting to refute.

POSTSCRIPT

While this article was in the press Mr. John Burton-Page called the writer's attention to a curious *qaṣīda* in the metre *ramal-i muthamman-i maḥdhūf*, evidently addressed to Iltutmish by one Mawlānā Burhān al-dīn " Bazzāz " Dehlavī on the occasion of the arrival of the Caliphal *manshūr* in 626 A.H. (1229 A.D.). In this the name is given as ایلتتمش. No other form except the highly improbable ایلتیمش will suit the metre, which requires — ᴗ — —.

Bu'l-muẓaffar īltutmish k' ū bi-ḥukm az tīr tīr
Bugdharānad dar favālash (sic) *me-biyāyad tīr tīr.*

The scansion of this couplet is more obvious than the sense.[42]

[41] A. B. M. Habibullah in *The Foundation of Muslim Rule*, 2nd revised edn. (Allahabad 1961), pp. 101 and 110, note 77, refers to the Manglāna Sanskrit inscription mentioning *Suratrāṇa Lititimishi* (sic) of *Joginipūra* (= Dehli); the correct reference for the place of publication of this inscription is *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. XLI (*not* XVI as in Habibullah) (1912), p. 87 (article by Pandit Rama Karna, " Manglana Stone Inscription of Jayatrasimha "). The name regrettably appears there as *svaratāṇa sri* (*sama*)*sadāṇa* (rather corruptly written and pedantically restored by the editor as *suratrāna sri shamsuddīn*). Probably Professor Habibullah was led astray by his memory of the coin-legend. The present writer has failed as yet to find any alternative published Nāgarī monumental epigraph with a rendering of the name *Iltutmish*.

[42] Nazir Ahmad, " Some little known Indo-Persian poets of the thirteenth century " in H. K. Shirwani (sic) ed., *Dr. Ghulam Yazdani Commemoration Volume* (Hyderabad 1966), p. 163, quoting from [an unspecified manuscript or printed edition of] " *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, p. 1080 ".